726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to [754] hurl insults at each other or to use sorcery aimed at hurting or killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man pro- [789] tects his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body) from being wounded or bewitched.

726 701 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans, too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms, [722] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and [714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron. Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors [411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow, and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the [714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful 726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

794 575 The main reasons for joining the Kubandwa are usually the following: the invitation of a magician; the wish to be cured of a sickness or to be rescued from a difficult situation caused by evil spirits; the intention of obtaining a privileged position of various material advantages of joining the cult society; the fulfillment of a promise or vow made to one's ancestors; the carrying on of a family tradition, etc. Thus, we have motives in all of which the positive principle of utility strongly predominates.

The consequence of joining the Kubwanda [sic] is that the umubandwa ceases to be a member of common humanity; he now belongs to an exalted adoptive family which protects and promotes its members. We might regard it as a kind of Free Masons' Lodge. Through solemn vows the newly admitted members pledge themselves not to betray or violate the secrets of the Kubwanda. If a member should nevertheless do so, the [789] ababandwa curse him, wishing all sufferings on him, and Riangombe carries out the malediction (No. 44, p. 294).

796 794 575 [126] The ceremonies of the Kubandwa, the admission of new members to the society, are accompanied by a great number of formalities; they are identical, however, for Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa. To the best of my knowledge they correspond in their main outlines to the procedure that is customary in Ruanda which is as follows. First the aspirant (nsigo) informs a sorcerer (umufumu) of his desire to be admitted to the society. [787] Then the abafumu require weeks and months to obtain the spirits' assent by performing all kinds of sorcery: they listen to their "inner voices," they observe floating pieces of butter and wood, they read the entrails of chickens, sheep, water-wagtails, etc. (No. 44, p. 530). During this entire period the candidate is expected to bring the umufumu a series of presents: sheep, goats, beans, iron hoes, even cattle (required of the Batussi). At the same time bananas, meat, pombe beer, and other delicacies must be offered as sacrifices to the spirits in the little sacrificial huts. At last the spirits agree to the admission of the candidate. Then the abafumu choose from their circle a sponsor whose duty it is to introduce the candidate to the ababandwa. The real

756 accordingly" (No. 45, 1913, p. 46). As a rule the craft of the umufumu is passed on from father to son, but it is also possible for extraordinary events or experiences suddenly to lead a Murundi, who until then has not felt any inclination to be an umufumu, to practice sorcery (kuragusa), for example, if he is unexpectedly saved from death. Then people say: "You have been chosen by Kiranga, and you must help us and mediate between him and us. Go and find the necessary objects, we shall come." If someone has thus been elevated to the status of the abafumu without any of his doing, if for many years he practices his craft and is sought after by numerous suffering people, success quite understandably often causes a kind of auto-suggestion and self-deception. Gradually the umufumu begins to believe more and more in his own power. He does after all believe in the magic of Kiranga, and besides, quite often he uses real and effective medicines in his cures. However, pious belief often goes hand in hand with a liberal dose of deliberate deception.

751 Father Gassldinger gives an excellent description of the
●789 versatility of the abafumu in inventing and manufacturing their amulets and also of their function as magicians which affects every situation in the life of a Murundi: "The little stranger has hardly arrived on this earth when his brother, uncle, or nephew runs to the umufumu and asks him to come to the hut and to bring along his isato, the magic wand. The umufumu does not have to be asked twice. He puts a large number of peculiarly shaped pieces of wood and bones into a bag and immediately appears at the side of the newborn infant. The family may be rich, and in this case a great show must be made to earn the generous reward which is expected. First, he spends quite a while practicing all kinds of tricks. When he has finished with this, he solemnly takes the real iviheko from his bag: finger-length pieces of wood covered with butter and red earth and with a hole in the middle; then a few seeds of a sacred tree adroitly wrapped in twisted straws; a little antelope horn filled with ocherous earth into which are stuck small pieces

751 of wood and cat's hair; two leopard claws; a piece of snake skin
789 covered with soot; a little box made of dried pumpkin rind containing a piece of umbilical cord and hair of a newborn infant mixed with bean flour and ashes of the bones of wild boars, etc. He hangs these 20 to 30 small amulets around the infant's neck, and another such string with at least a dozen of these amulets is tied around the child's loins: one amulet against intestinal worms, another as protection against lightning, another against diarrhea, the next against snake bite, another one against skin diseases, and the last one to help the child become fat and strong. The umufumu breathes on the child, flails his arms convulsively, rattles his bells violently, and blesses and sanctifies the individual iviheko, for the Barundi do not believe in a power in these sticks, hair, and horns in themselves but only in the blessing and anointing which they have received from the umufumu. The potency of this blessing depends on the power of the umufumu and on the rarity of the substratum, the vehicle of this sanctification. There is no other Negro tribe which believes as firmly in the iviheko or which wears them in such great numbers as the Barundi.

789 "After the child has grown somewhat older, he begins to make crude bows and wooden arrows for himself and to practice shooting at birds. At that stage his parents seek even stronger iviheko for him, especially the horn of a gazelle filled with powder and containing a few iron points. This is supposed to impart strength for hunting, to make for good marksmanship, and to deflect the missiles of the enemy. When the boy has reached the age when he wants to find himself a wife, there is another series of iviheko to help him. After the marriage, he safeguards his wife's faithfulness and the speedy arrival of healthy [131] offspring by using still other amulets. In disease and misfortune and especially when he feels death approaching, the Murundi seeks rest and comfort in sleep caused by using particularly strong iviheko. On a journey the Murundi wears his own amulets; he sticks others in the four corners of his field; some hang over his bed. There are more amulets hidden near the entrance to the hut, and particularly strong and powerful ones are buried in the earth next to the fireplace. Sick cows are supposed to be cured

789 by iviheko. They also neutralize the evil influence of personal enemies. When at war, the night before the battle, the Murundi sleeps on his beloved iviheko, and he is laid to rest in the grave together with his iviheko.

"Once the body of a Murundi has been made invulnerable, it is still necessary to secure his property. Another amulet is fastened to the spear, or a special stick bought from the umufumu is carried in the same hand as the spear, or a magic sign may be scratched into the iron of the spear. An additional amulet is fastened to the top of the bowstring. Inside the hut a pile of amulets is buried in the ground near the entrance, one amulet is fastened above the entrance, but the most powerful and effective ones are placed near the three hearth stones. There are other amulets used in the fields, against hail and storm, against locusts and other calamities. Very frequently one may find them also on roads, especially on those leading to the banana groves or directly to the hut. If one is careless, he may easily stumble over slabs of wood colored ochre-red, protruding about five centimeters from the ground, and that, after all, is their purpose: a person with evil intent is expected to stumble and fall on the road, thus revealing himself to be an umurosi (malicious witches or wizards)." (No. 45.)

791 293 424 756 The magic power of the umufumu is handed down in families, not only by blood relationship but also by transfer of the insignia characteristic of the umufumu, which consist chiefly in a leopard skin, a headdress made of a cow's tail (Plate 54) and goat hair, a gourd rattle, a stick with charms, a certain way of painting the body and the face with light-colored clay and fat, etc. (No. 19, p. 461).

791 756 The abafumu of the Batwa enjoy a special reputation. They are feared by the Barundi because of their strong magic powers, but they are also consulted for cures. The supreme head of all medicine men, however, resides in Uha (No. 19, p. 462). He lives in the northern district of Ujungu and was formerly called Kawango, the name of one of the spirits of the interlacustrine region. He was probably the medium of this god.

756 to him for generations, but this is done before the "case" be-
757 comes serious and requires the attention of an umufumu. These remedies are in a class by themselves (p. 140), and at this point we are only discussing sorcery, magic remedies and their application.

755 Regardless of the kind of remedy which is to be applied, the Murundi first tests its effectiveness by external application. Even those remedies which can only be of help if taken internally are first strapped or spread on the ailing part of the body since they are expected to have a magical power similar to an amulet. Even European medicines meant to be taken internally, such as pills, powders, or tablets, are first wrapped in a leaf by the Murundi and tied to the sick organ. Only if he does not feel any improvement after that, will he finally make up his mind to swallow or drink them.

751 There are countless numbers of true amulets (iviheko)
789 which are made of various substances and in various shapes. They are always worn suspended on the body in a small compact form (Plate 55). We have already listed quite a number of these above (p. 130). Usually they are suspended from the neck on strings, but frequently they are also tied to the head, to the belly, or to the genitalia, etc. At times each one hangs on a separate piece of string, at other times dozens of different kinds are strung up on a single piece of string, similar to a necklace. The material used for making the amulet is not as important as the sorcery through which the umufumu imparts supernatural powers to the object, but in most cases the amulet consists of a piece of wood three to six centimeters long, if for no other reason than that it is easiest to produce and to carry. One may also see claws or hooves of leopards, cats, goats, and sheep, the bones of birds, pieces of snake skin or the fur of wild animals, dried fruit, mussels, pebbles with unusual shapes, but, most frequently, powder from various types of soil, ashes of burnt bones or of the horns of animals, and flour made of various kinds of grain (No. 19, p. 29). Usually these powdery charms are poured into a small cattle, goat, or antelope horn whose opening is then closed with wax. Hollowed out fruit

751 rinds are also used for this purpose; often they are then artfully
789 decorated with pieces of wire or strings of beads which are twisted around them. Depending on the magic power which the umufumu has imparted to the amulet, there are protective amulets supposed to help against certain accidents and maladies, against the malice of evil spirits, and against witchcraft used by persons endowed with magic powers. There are also lucky amulets for bringing about good harvests, healthy cattle, safe journeys, strong and healthy babies, etc. Rich persons who [556] can afford the luxury of many expensive amulets wear them around their necks in such numbers that their entire chests are covered with them, reminding one of the cascades of medals on the chests of European diplomats. Of course, the most [554] amulets are worn by the great chiefs and Batussi batwale who are usually feared and respected as medicine men themselves.

The following description gives an example. "Leaning on an enormously long staff and armed with a powerful spear, the old chief Rumonge walks among his people like a simple citizen. There is nothing to set him apart from the others except the innumerable amulets which decorate his neck, chest, back, his hips, arms, and legs. He is known as an extraordinarily powerful sorcerer which greatly increases the fear and respect with which he is regarded by his subjects. And his words are made more telling by the use which he or his aides make of his heavy club" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 70).

[791] The Batwa produce most of the amulets used by the Barundi, but the other abafumu are also very productive in manufacturing amulets, and, of course, this is one of their most lucrative sources of income.

754 The abafumu have another important task: to discover
791 and to put out of action persons skilled in witchcraft who in various ways bring harm and misfortune on their fellow citizens. These witches and necromancers, called abarosi (sing., umurosi), are

754 the first to be considered responsible if a person becomes sick
791 or dies, if a storm devastates the fields, if the cattle meet with an accident or are attacked by epidemics, when women remain barren, if infants are aborted, if thefts are committed, etc. The abarosi frequently employ poison, which is popular both in Urundi and in Ruanda (No. 48, p. 319), but in most cases they use their magic powers. The abarosi obtain magic power over people or over their cattle and other possessions by appropriating a little piece of a person's body, some hair, the paring of a fingernail, sputum, semen or urine, or some cattle dung, straw from the hut, or soil from the fields. All of these things give the abarosi power over a part of the person's "soul." This explains the great reluctance with which a Murundi, like all East African Negroes, allows a stranger to take pictures of himself, submits to physical measurement, or gives his own name or that of his family. If the medicines and protective amulets prove to be ineffective against the black magic of the abarosi, the umufumu will close in on the malefactor, the umurosi. By inspiration and by questioning his magic rattles and other apparatus, the umufumu's suspicion is directed to certain persons, who in most cases are old women! They are accused,
[695] arrested by the mutwale, and if there is no other proof, the umufumu subjects them to a kind of ordeal in which fire, poison, or boiling water is used. In most cases the verdict is unfavorable to the accused (No. 19, p. 405). In petty cases the person found
[693] guilty receives physical punishment or has to pay a fine; in serious ones they are simply beaten to death and thrown in the bush (see above, p. 97).

791 The umufumu's power of divination may also be directed to other things if the party concerned so desires and is prepared
●789 to pay the price. Through special ceremonies the umufumu brings rain to the fields, or if there is too much rain, he may stop it (No. 19, p. 443). For rain-making, which is so important for agriculture, there are special experts, the abavurati. However, their number is decreasing since every failure is severely punished by the batwale (No. 45, 1913), p. 50).

2: Meyer--288 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 54

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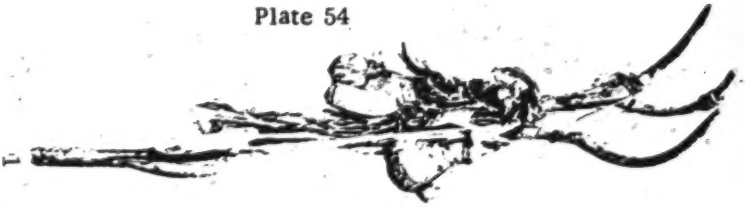
●789



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[285]

Headdresses and Amulets; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

No. 1) Bifurcated stick with medicine amulets in plaited satchels, 82 centimeters long; Nos. 2, 3) Plaited dancing caps with goat hair and cowrie shells, 68 and 80 centimeters long.

2: Meyer--289 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Neck Ornaments and Amulets Filled with "Medicine."

Nos. 1, 4) Goat horns, pieces of bone, wooden sticks, 16 and 20 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — Nos. 2, 3) Carved cattle horns, 9 and 10 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by intuition without the aid of any instrument. Some of them use a medium, usually female, possessed by *Biheko* (one of the *imandwa*) or are possessed themselves. Thanks to them it is possible to oppose a certain defence against the *bazimu*. They can identify the spirit who causes illness or sterility or is killing the cattle; they can tell what will appease him. Batutsi and Bahutu practise as *bapfumu*. It was formerly a very respectable calling; the techniques and methods of interpretation are often transmitted from father to son. Sorcerers (*barozi*), on the contrary, are criminals obliged to conceal their activities. If found they could be immediately killed. Some of them are believed to use poisons; for instance, a powder made from the lungs of a person who has died from tuberculosis is mixed in food. Others act by magical means: sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, using spells. Besides a certain training in the formulae, they have to acquire a magical force handed on by another sorcerer.

Such, very sketchily drawn, is the non-material world of Banyarwanda. This world is dominated by *Imana*, essentially powerful and good. The century-old problem of evil in the world, particularly acute when there is a belief in the existence of a being who is omnipotent and infinitely good, has been solved by putting the responsibility for all evil and all suffering on agents other than *Imana*. These agents are mostly human, for *bazimu* are indeed human personalities and sorcerers are men. *Imana* himself does not cause any evil but he allows the causes of evil to act. As God's beneficent action is remote, we may say that the invisible world is on the whole malevolent. Under the serene reign of the prime cause, ill-willed secondary causes have a large freedom of action which they use to torture men. Compared with the earthly world, the invisible one is rather disquieting, our informants told us. When daily life is painful, when personal security is threatened by external dangers, the thought of the invisible world present in this one has not the psychological function of relieving anxieties.

But to what extent is the invisible world a permanent presence in the lives of Ruanda people? Not to a very great extent, it seems. Their existence is not permanently dominated by the fear of *bazimu* and sorcerers. As in the material world and its regular changes, Banyarwanda consider that there are 'natural' events in the human sphere, i.e. in the domain of human existence and the part of the world that man changes by his action (agriculture, cattle-rearing, hut-building, &c.). By 'natural' we mean that these events are understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts are regarded as natural causes of others. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or the rainy season is considered to be due to the change of weather. It is known that yaws can be got by contagion. Even death is very often accepted without seeking any magical explanation. It is expected, for instance, that people will die because of old age. If beans had been planted on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences have

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
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1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets.
789 The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

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2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

791 Those same "seekers," in their capacity as conjurer-magicians
●789 have the power of staving off the results of spells and sorcery. For a fee, they will set physical and moral boundaries to the evil powers of other sorcerers. They do this by means of medicines (imiti) of their own creation, amulets (impigi), and tree branches with magical properties, which they bury or stick into the ground. Areas thus "closed" to the evil of spells remain for a long time inviolable havens. Henceforth, the owners of such immunized grounds have nothing to fear from bewitchers.

791 The Banyarwanda talk a great deal, by the hearth, about those conjurer-magicians and their high deeds.

In order to recover stolen objects, the Banyarwanda resort to the Banyerango (2). These do not inspire the same fear as their afore-

2. Abanyerango. This substantive is derived from the word kulangira, meaning "to show," "to uncover," and designates the sorcerer's trade. Hence the name irango given to the horn which he uses in his search.

mentioned colleagues, although they use the same magic horn. The [842] Bachunyi, or makers of grigris, chiefly specialize in bringing fertility to sterile women.

For a fee they sell amulets and magic beverages. Gossipers add that charlatans in this category often take advantage of their clients while the naïve husband, a small bell in hand, is sent to take a slow walk around the sorcerer's hut.

754 D. The curser-sorcerers (Abahenyi) are also held in high esteem. Their mission, like that of the false prophet Balaam, /396/ [644] is to curse the foes and annihilate their power to resist. Their chief, named Agakwande, enjoys high regard at court. His ancestors were simple Bahutu. It was on account of their important functions that they gradually made their way into the noble caste of the Batutsi, with whom they continually intermarried. They inhabit the Ndiza, at Bulembo, and form a powerful and formidable body. Their

644 sorcerers and of possessing exceptional talents. This is why the purely
791 mystical functions of their successors were sanctioned by the conquerors.

As a result, they remain on duty both to His Black Majesty and to his faithful subjects at court, at the capital, and throughout the realm. /399/

A. Bewitchers, spell casters, spells, and sorcery. The sorcerers in this category are subdivided into several groups and operate in various ways.

They are referred to as a group by the generic term umulôzi (abalôzi in the plural), "bewitcher." Kuloga means "to bewitch, to cast a spell," and also "to poison." Ubulôzi (amalôzi in the plural) means "bewitchment," "evil spell," "sorcery," and "poisoning." Those are familiar words in the great lake region.

As we shall see later, many of them ply their trade publicly both at the capital in the service of the king, to deliver him from his enemies, and in the villages where they serve their fellow men.

Others, whose activities are more or less acknowledged, practice only in secret.

Some, as will be made clear, have only a fictional existence and exist only in the imagination of naïve people.

1. Abashitsi, or "the catchers," is the name of those who
787 can force a thief to reveal himself through magical practices.
695 The name of their function is borrowed from the verb gushika, "to catch" (the thief), hence the word "urushiko" to designate the procedure. To do this the magician fills a vessel (imbehe) with a liquid which he prepares himself. He blows for a while into a drinking tube, one end of which is immersed in a wooden jar, until the froth (urufuro) overflows, forcing the thief through this mystic and symbolic procedure to reveal his deed in spite of himself. Such, at least, is the popular belief.

2. Abaheretsi (from the verb guhereka, "to lay traps through
791 bewitchment") serves to designate a second group of sorcerers who
●789 specialize in burying charms and amulets of their own making in banana groves and cultivated fields, /400/ hence the name of uruhereko given to their sorcery.

789 241 Woe to those who plunder lands which have been thus bewitched! They are struck motionless on the spot and become completely paralyzed (baragangara) and incapable of any motion. The sorcerer alone can free them by uttering some cabalistic words. In order to safeguard his crops the owner of a field often uses the following method, which consists of laying down on the field which is to be protected the sharpening stone, a handful of ashes from the hearth, and strips of leather taken from an old drum. If a sorghum crop is involved, our man ties together four sorghum stems near the mystic assortment, as though to simulate a hut consecrated to the spirits. The trespasser who chances on the property will be immobilized, or he will catch an illness that will lead him to the grave (1).

1. We are talking as from the native's mouth, but we do not intend to confirm his claims in any way. Even when events justify those claims, this may undoubtedly be ascribed to emotion, autosuggestion, or sheer coincidence.

791 789 In the Bwana-Mkali province, operators of this kind bear the name of Abakagizi (from gukagira, "to hinder"), and their method is called urukago, "hindrance." Like their other colleagues, they bury amulets, plants with magic properties, an old household spatula, or even the small stone used to crush the grain at the entrance to the courtyard or behind the hut. The stone, called ingasire, is also called ikinane in sorcerers' terms, that is to say, "the obstacle," "the supreme preventitive." The use of a spatula which is worn or out of commission has a mystic sense and a magic virtue at the same time. The thief who should attempt to enter a dwelling protected in this fashion would find his efforts come to naught (2). Professional

2. This method is reminiscent of bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/.

791 /practitioners/ of this kind demand rather high fees /401/ and will
789 accept no less than a goat, an ox, or even a heifer as the price of their services.

[825] 3. In the Gissaka people believe that there are tame snakes guarding the fields and houses of their masters. Those reptiles coil themselves around the neck of thieves and suffocate them. They also follow the tracks of thieves and receivers of stolen goods to their homes.

4. According to popular belief, the batezi (from the verb gutega, "to lay traps") are capable of uncovering evildoers and thieves by means of a curious method, which is none other than bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/. The victim of the theft comes to the spell caster and presents him with a goat whose throat is immediately slit. Then the magician takes the bladder, fills it with air, and suspends it with a rope from the ceiling of the hut. If the thief's death is desired, the sorcerer punctures the bladder or even cuts the rope that holds it. If the membranous sac collapses on the ground, the thief cannot fail to die instantly. It will be sufficient to ask for news in the vicinity. Any sudden death will be interpreted in this light and ascribed to the act of bewitchment. The belly of the victim will be greatly inflated. This is what is called gubang' agaheto, "to string a bow," as the Banyarwanda sometimes put it when they wish to allude to this method of bewitching.

If the owner of the stolen object wishes to be magnanimous, he asks the sorcerer to strike the bladder only lightly, in order to cause the culprit mere intestinal pains. Needless to say, the Blacks have complete faith in these magic procedures and believe that they have witnessed their consequences in a large number of cases.

754 5. Abachuraguzi. This word comes from the word guchuragura
[535] and designates a kind of dance. /402/ The devotees of this kind of dance stamp up and down on the spot. People in this category are the true jettatori /from Italian/ whose aim is to cast a spell, jettatura, on their fellow men because they are jealous of their good fortune or because they want revenge fro an offense, real or fancied. Those baleful men operate at night. In order to succeed better in their black designs, the spell casters must wear nothing but an old mat

784 A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while
[842] her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband.

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

787 If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest, it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

•789 In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a
691 mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

[273] The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

784 There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange)
824 is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

783 The murderer in turn worries about the consequences of his act. He appeals, therefore, to the same kind of operators in order to avert the vengeance and the curse which he was wrought upon himself and his kinsmen.

The rival of the previously mentioned sorcerer takes a reed which he cleaves throughout its length without altogether separating the tips. He draws apart the two rods, which are stuck into the ground. The culprit and members of his family pass under this novel type of bridge. The operator seizes the reed, puts its two parts back together, and tosses it at a distance, saying, "I have warded off the spirit (of the deceased) that was pursuing you." Then, leading his client to a crossroads, he sprinkles him with a few drops of a liquid he has prepared and which contains the juices of certain plants.

Standing back to back with his protégé, the sorcerer /419/ slips into his hands some amulets which he must wear around his neck. "Just as we cannot see each other," adds the protector against sorcery, "may the spirit of the man thou hast killed never see thee (find thee)." Then he tells the man to lie flat on the ground. Taking a sort of broom (urutsiro) made of plants with magic properties, he brushes it over the body of the individual. "Ndagushumburuye, I have caused the spirit of the man who pursued thee to depart," he adds.

The operation has every chance of success if the murderer manages to obtain through gifts the services of the sorcerer who "worked" for the victim and his relatives.

789 3. "Exhumers and mutilators of corpses" (ababûzi), from the word kwabura, "to exhume a corpse."

781 They are resorted to in two cases; /first,/ when it concerns a criminal who has been executed, and his spirit must be prevented from harming the living, that is to say, those who killed him. We shall speak of this later in the course of this work.

The second case is the following: The murderer, a man of common extraction, whether he killed willingly or unwillingly, wishes to be protected in turn against the wrath of his victim's spirit. To this end, he calls upon one of the exhumers of corpses who helps him obtain the body of the slain man (this is not always easy). Then the corpse must be mutilated in order to drive the spirit out of it.

789 751 The sorcerer mutilator cuts off a tiny piece (isonga) from the tongue, heart, little finger (umuhera), and skin, and these pieces are dried above the hearth. All of this is then enclosed in a small horn, preferably black, which the assassin wears around his neck as a talisman and which guards him not only against his victim but also against the latter's relatives.

It is also good to procure some of the herb called irago or umurago which has been planted on the slain man's grave. /420/

If this is added to the other gruesome items contained by the horn, the talisman becomes more powerful.

We may add that these people charge very high fees for their services. A bull, at least, is required.

C. Sorcerers who preside over ordeals and who prepare the 695 test poisons. Sorcerers of this type bear the name of Abashozi, hence the verbs gushora, "to put someone through a test," and gushoka (a neutral verb) to designate the test itself.

It does seem that here in Ruanda ordeals are employed only in criminal cases and that their sole object is to prove the innocence or culpability of those who submit to them, as was formerly done in the Middle Ages. Our Blacks have such faith and trust in such judicial methods that they believe in their absolute effectiveness. They have never given a thought to the absurdity of those divinatory tests, in which chance and fraud play such a predominant role.

695 278 Such tests are numerous, but the most widespread is that which consists of drinking or smoking the urwizilinga, a kind of shrub that seems to bear at least a superficial resemblance to datura (1). In any case their effects are similar.

[824]

1. Moavi is used as the test poison practically throughout the rest of Africa. This plant does not seem to exist in Ruanda. The matter, nevertheless, would be worth investigating.

773 This is how the young prince became willy-nilly the father of the
821 present Bashara, or rain-maker, lineage, which has inherited his
614 vocation.

If they wish to bring rain, these people[1] go outside, look at
•789 the sky, and spread out their arms. If they wish to favor only the
821 hill they inhabit, they must sit. If they wish to benefit the entire land with their astonishing power, they must stretch out at full length and spread out their arms at the same time. The storytellers add that this is how the descendants of Rushara have acted ever since that time.

Up to these last few years, rain makers were exposed to
[686] serious dangers. It was not unusual to hear that one or another of those unfortunate creatures had been killed or thrown into the river for failing to produce the needed rain on time.

According to another interpretation of the same legend which
[773] is very popular in the central province of Nduga, Rushara disobeyed the orders of the sorcerer at the proddings of the demon of curiosity after he had crossed the Nyabarongo. The water ran out of the pot and spread onto the ground. Nyamukama was informed and replied that in order /431/ to get rain, all that was needed was to build upon the spot where the water from the vessel had been spilled, and to dig into the hill (mubuz' imvura, mwubake, muhafukure). Many of the kings of Ruanda have indeed elected this hill as one of their favorite capitals.

In times of drought it is customary to scratch its soil lightly as though searching for a spring, and it is said that Nyamukama's
[103] prophecies always come true. This is why the area is appropriately called Bgeramvura (kugera imvura), that is to say, "the place where rain comes forth."

It is for the same reason, and to obtain the same results, that at Mata in Marangara, people dig into both sides of the hill.

The first of the two holes is called "the fountain of milk" (iliba ry'amata) and symbolizes abundance. Cows will then yield more milk. The other hole is called by the name of "source of rain" (iliba ry'imvura). Just by dealing it a few blows with a hoe, a favorable influence is exercised upon the clouds, which will give forth a beneficent rain.

[1] [i.e., the Bashara. - Ann Ist]

754 The land was cleared instantly, to the stupefaction of the onlookers. The prince confirmed him in his position.

In closing, we need only cite the Italian proverb, "Se non è vero, è bene trovato /It may not be true, but it is a felicitous invention/." The Blacks hold the sorcerers and their power in high regard.

789 The deep-rooted trust of the Blacks in the /444/ skill of their sorcerers and the efficacy of their magic practices has something to do with the stagnant state of their civilizations.

How much are the doctors of occult and divinatory sciences to blame in this connection?

"It would be unfair," says Maurice Delafosse, "to make the magicians responsible for this situation, for they share the belief of their compatriots in the efficacy of their art. They practice magic not only because it is profitable, but also because they are as credulous as their clients." (Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro-African Civilizations/.)

Chapter 4

Offices of a Recreational and Literary Nature

644 a. The dancing groups are numerous, and their motions
535 interesting and varied.

The pages have a special dance known by the name of guhamiriza. The kwiyereka and kulambira are indigenous to the mountain dwellers and especially to the Bagoyi.

The renown of this latter group in connection with this type of dance harks back to their great chief Bushako.

The people of the Gissaka specialize in the kubyina urushara. [534] When the dances are accompanied by stringed instruments known by the name of inanga, they take the name of gutambir' inanga. When performed to the beat of the drum, they are called gutambir' ingoma.

How many unfortunate people payed with their lives for having been falsely accused of such supposed misdeeds!

789 The use of charms to win the good graces of Europeans survived
648 only by a few years the use of the above-mentioned poisons. When the latter were tagged as ineffective /to Europeans/, or at least dangerous in their consequences, charms (inzaratsi) were resorted to. The makers of charms, called by the generic name of Abanyamihango, "men of the traditions," exercise a vocation which is regarded as lucrative and honorable as long as the professionals do not overstep the limits of their art.

Public opinion indeed accuses them, most probably wrongly, of deceiving people and giving them poison instead of inoffensive
832 charms. Women, especially, resort to their art and use their powders
278 to draw upon themselves the attention and favors of an unfaithful or forgetful husband. Sorcerers in this category use for this purpose
[824] the following plants and shrubs: umukunde, which bears the evocative name of "tree of love," umutanga, umugobora, umukeri, a kind of wild bramble, nkurimonga, umuhire, buryoher' imfizi, that is, "the plant that suits the taste of bulls," etc. The makers of philters take the bark, leaves, or roots of those plants and dry them in the sun. The whole thing is crushed and reduced to powder. One need only put a little of this powder into beer or butter, or else /490/ rub it onto a stick or spear, to obtain the desired effect. The neglected wife who manages to make her husband drink this beer will inevitably regain
[302] first place in his heart. The result is the same if the husband anoints his limbs and body with the butter containing the precious powder.

789 The use of a walking stick or the bearing of a spear rubbed
648 with one of those powders will bring good luck to the owner. His words and requests will all be accepted, and those he addresses will be unable to do him any harm.

This is why the king and court dignitaries attempted in their turn to use this simple and effective means of winning over the hearts of the Europeans and of swaying them toward their own needs and

789 desires. At the beginning of his relations with the Whites, Musinga
648 often appeared with a small stick in his hand, the tip of which he would first turn toward himself as he spoke and then toward his interlocutors, in order to influence their answers. This stick was called by the name of uruchubyo, from the word guchubya, which describes the act of driving boiling water back into the pot with a stick of that name. The Blacks saw a certain similarity between the two occurrences. Just as cooks and their helpers keep the liquid from running over by forcing it back to the bottom of the pot, he who possesses a magic stick wards off the evil which his interlocutors might perpetrate upon him (ngo atsind' amagambo mabi). A happy and inoffensive credulity, which does harm to no one!

IV. Customs and Formalities Observed by the King and His Subjects

644 The relations between subjects and sovereign are permeated with a profound respect which is both superstitious and actuated by fear. The Banyarwanda formerly experienced /491/ no feelings toward their monarch other than reverential fear. The stateliness which surrounded the king and the bloody executions which confirmed his absolute power over all things had no small part in the preservation of these feelings, which were closely bound with an attitude of servility. The monarch was a true demigod far superior to other men, hence the following customs and formalities which governed the relations between subjects and sovereign.

1. The king is awakened by drums which are first played at four or five o'clock in the morning. Actually, he does not rise before seven thirty or eight o'clock. At the moment when he leaves his bed, women come and grind a handful of sorghum or eleusine, while a young girl shakes the large gourd (igisabo) which is used for churning.

The aim of these observances is to draw upon the king and the realm the prosperity symbolized by the sorghum, eleusine, and butter. The Impara, or group of initiates into the Ryangombe secret society, then make their appearance.

794 have made the sacrifice and by their friends.
575
782 The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as
789 amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails, is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

[445]

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)

[276]

Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

[292] When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cowhide known as mukane.

791 The bahinza have to do with matters relating to farming,
●789 above all with crops and grasshoppers. A good harvest is due to their cooperation. That is why, after the harvest, bahinza go about collecting donations. People like to give them gifts. The curse of the muhinza can "dry up" human beings as well as animals, so that they lose their sexual powers.

The Balera fear the curse of the muhinza very much, for if he merely pronounces his curse and spits upon the ground, the effect is automatic.

[152] Father F. Dufays told me that he saw a man die of fright soon after he had been cursed by a muhinza. The bahinza are always Bahutu.

791 Bawubyi are rainmakers. They appear in the transition period between the rainy season and the dry season and demand gifts for making rain or for making it stop. Bawubyi are always pariah Batwa.

Since there are very few Batutsi in Mulera and they have little influence, we may assume that [321] the various categories of soothsayers and sorcerers mentioned here and familiar to me from my stay in Mulera and the practice of poisoning are phenomena basic to Bahutu culture and not borrowed from the Batutsi.

588 In Ruanda, as in Kiziba and Mpororo, women are consecrated to the spirits. They must provide for the needs of the spirits, and their children are said to be regarded as the children of the spirit and to belong to his family, for these women are allegedly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with others. I was told quite frankly, however, about a case where a Mututsi chief consecrated Bahutu women to a spirit and had sexual intercourse with them.

787 Dreams and Soothsaying. In Ruanda various methods of soothsaying are practiced. First we must speak of the chicken oracle because of its great importance.

In order to obtain information about a certain matter through the chicken oracle, it is necessary for the person to come to the soothsayer (mupfumu) with a chicken. When he arrives, he spits into the beak of the chicken and hands it to the soothsayer. The latter first places the chicken on the visitor's head and then calls his helper, a young boy. The boy grasps the chicken under its

787 wings and lays it on its back on the ground. The mupfumu slits open the chicken from the beak down, so the tongue remains attached to the lower jaw. He lifts out the entrails, which are placed in an improvised basin and washed. The basin is a depression in the ground lined with a banana leaf. The soothsayer spreads the washed entrails on his hand and looks for excrescences known as nkebe. If there are not more than two or three nkebe, 787 the prediction is favorable or in the affirmative. In this case, a 789 few bones are taken from the chicken and placed in a small vessel of barkcloth. Sometimes the entrails with the nkebe are added. This vessel is dried in the smoke from the hearth and worn around the neck as an amulet against the evil eye. If the number of nkebe is larger, the chicken is thrown away, and the operation is repeated on another chicken.

787 A few days after the soothsaying has taken place, the amulet made of a bit of barkcloth and containing chicken bones and fat is handed over with a certain solemnity. It takes a few days for the contents to dry out. Early in the morning the mupfumu comes into the hut of the person fortunate enough to have a favorable prediction. The soothsayer is received by the man who sits on a stool and his wife who sits beside him on the ground. The soothsayer sits down opposite them and smears the man's forehead, back, and chest with some kaolin. [322] Later he hands the man a necklace of bast from which hang the vessels containing the bones of the chicken sacrificed for the soothsaying. In payment, the soothsayer gets a hoe and some beer if there is any to be had at the time.

The chicken oracle is a Batutsi (or Bahima) custom. This is evident from the fact that the soothsayers belong to the aristocracy of herdsmen and that the amulets containing chicken bones are worn primarily by Batutsi.

The entrails of cows and sheep are used in the same manner as chicken entrails for soothsaying. Because of their costliness, however, this is evidently done only by the king and the aristocracy. Goats are used for sacrifices, but never for soothsaying.

The fact that the goat, which is associated more with the lower-class Bahutu, is not used for soothsaying probably shows that in general soothsaying from the entrails of sacrificial animals is associated with the ruling Batutsi class.

[Text continues in p. 260]

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Fig. 167. Amulet of Barkcloth, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)
Fig. 168. Twin Amulets on a Necklace of Barkcloth, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

787

Fig. 169. Container with Tokens for the Little Board Oracle, Mulera: (a) gourd token, (b) iron tokens, (c) bone tokens. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13117. 22 centimeters long.)